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Notes on Yusuf Wanandi and Yuwono Sudarsono

Yusuf Wanandi/Liem Bian Kie
Together with his brother Sofyan Wanandi/Liem Bian Koen, were very instrumental in the creation of an alliance between the military and the students/intellectuals in the period of the military takeover of 1965. Both as representatives of the Catholic minority (Yusuf was already a law graduate and Sofyan was a student in economics) fulfilled an important role in the anti-communist drive of those days. They belonged to a small but dedicated group of extreme right-wing Catholics led by the Dutch priest father Beek S.J., trained ideologically and politically in anti-communism. Sofyan emerged in this period (1965-1969) as one of the prime leaders of the rightwing KAMI student federation. KAMI, operating in the big cities , rallying and mobilising the mob, succeeded together with the military to destroy physically all the leftwing and progressive organisations and trade unions. Yusuf at the same time, more low-profile, was the schemer and thinker. The important contact to the military was colonel Ali Murtopo, intelligence officer at KOSTRAD, the reserve troops commanded by general Suharto. The relation with Ali Murtopo will remain a constant factor until the death of AM in 1982. Father Beek, Ali Murtopo (a general by now) and the two Wanandis decided to establish a think tank called CSIS, Centre for Strategic and International Studies. In the 'warming-up' period between 65-69, before CSIS was established, Ali Murtopo and his gang (including the two brothers) operated in a semi-clandestine intelligence outfit called OPSUS. OPSUS was the body who stage managed 'the act of free choice' in 1969 in Irian Jaya (West Papua). In the seventies CSIS was by large the most important think tank in Indonesia. Ali Murtopo's special relations with President Suharto as main advisor made as if Indonesia's internal and external policies were developed in jalan Tanah Abang (the street where the CSIS office lies) instead in the palace. The death of father Beek (1978 or 1979) was quite a loss for CSIS and Ali Murtopo's decreasing health conditions also affected CSIS influence in the late seventies. In the meantime Sofyan Wanandi left the scene and became a respectable businessman, director of PT Garuda Mataram, the sole dealer of Volkswagen cars. In 1983 Sofyan was appointed by the Armed Forces to lead all the business interests of the Armed Forces. All the companies were brought under one trust called PT TRUBA, headed by Sofyan. By this time Sofyan has become one of the most influential persons in the republic. In the meantime brother Yusuf remained as one of the pillars of CSIS. Several policies laid out by CSIS have become a kind of monopoly and the Indonesian Government has adopted this policies over the years. Three examples of foreign affairs were Yusuf is directly involved are :

- East Timor, from the early beginning Ali Murtopo, Benny Murdani (member of OPSUS in the sixties), Yusuf Wanandi were the architects of the East Timor take-over. Until this very moment President Suharto relies solely on Murdani/CSIS regarding East Timor.
- Pacific, CSIS was the first body who developed an active policy towards the Pacific.Even Foreign Minister Mochtar, who is not a

CSIS fan follows CSIS policies and advices on the Pacific.

- IndoChina, Indonesia's active policy on the Kampuchea matter also originates from the CSIS thinktank. In CSIS political framework of security in the region, China is regarded as the major threat and therefor a bigger role for Vietnam is advisable to balance the powers in the region.

Since Benny Murdani became Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, Yusuf Wanandi and his CSIS are still being used as one of the main advisors on foreign policy. On domestic policy Murdani has developed other advisory and intelligence bodies but on foreign matters (East Timor is partly a foreign affairs issus, as it is still on the agenda of international conferences). he still relies on the advices and policies of Yusuf Wanandi and other CSIS experts.

Particularly on East Timor, Yusuf Wanandi's role has been paramount. Foreign embassies seeking information about East Timor are mostly taken care of by CSIS and not by the Foreign Office. Visits of diplomats, journalists to East Timor have always been prepared by CSIS. Yusuf is really an oldtimer on East Timor affairs, the Lisbon meeting between Lt.general Ali Murtopo and his delegation (including Yusuf) in October 74 and the Macao meeting was also prepared and attended by Yusuf Wanandi. HK

Over the years, Yusuf Wanandi has proved himself as somebody who doesn't particularly cherish fundamental human rights. On the contrary, everybody in indonesia invilved in Human Rights Affairs like lawyers and other activists will all agree that Yusuf Wanandi is one of the last persons to speak as an expert on Human rights.

Notes on Yuwono Sudarsono

At present teaches at the most prestigious University, the Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta. His subject is international relations with a strong focus on Asia pacific matters. He is very close to the CSIS views (like East Timor and Vietnam) but is more independent from the military than CSIS. Speaks English fluently as he made his PhD at the wellknown LSE, london School of Economics. Writes frequently in the major publications like Tempo and Suara Pembaruan. So far has not attached himself in direct political matters and remained within academic confinement. Is therefore totally unfamiliar with Human Rights matters.